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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1785

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BRIEFS

BULGARIA-GDR TOURISM PACT --The ninth session of the permanent committee on international tourism between Bulgaria and the GDR closed in Sofia yesterday with the signing of a protocol. The two delegations exchanged opinions on the development of cooperation in the tourist sector between now and 1985. Increased travel, as well as further diversification of forms and expansion of the geographic scope of tourist travel between the two countries is provided for. [Text] [AU150758 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Apr 80 p 2 AU]

TRICHKOV TO PRAGUE--A delegation of the Bulgarian People's and State Control Committee, headed by Krustyu Trichkov, chairman of the committee and BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, has left for Prague at the invitation of the CSSR state control organs. [AU140816 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0730 GMT 14 Apr 80 AU]

ALEKSANDROV TO MOSCOW--Chudomir Aleksandrov, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, has left for Moscow at the invitation of the Moscow City CPSU Committee. [AU140816 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0730 GMT 14 Apr 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

YOUTH CONVINCED OF 'ERROR' IN ATTITUDE ABOUT LONG HAIR

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Bektash Zite: "This Is Not Only Your Business"]

[Excerpts] A lively discussion was going on in the brick factory in Lushnje: "These are influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology"--a young man, a vanguard worker said.

When the names of some youths who underestimate the struggle against foreign manifestations and influences and who do not subscribe to the norms of our proletarian morality are mentioned, one of the youths says:

"Ferdinand should tell us why he wears his hair so long. Does he understand what he is doing? Why hasn't he listened to the social criticism which we have expressed? Doesn't he understand that his comrades want the best for him?"

The young worker listened to his comrades and did not raise his eyes. Then he got up and began to speak.

"Why are you comrades so concerned about my hair? How important is this problem? I observe the work rules; I have not violated discipline; I have always tried to achieve the norms and to produce good quality goods. If I had not done so you comrades would have the right to criticize me severely. As for my hair, that is my business. Why are the comrades concerned about my hair?"

The comrades carefully listened to his discussion and felt that he did not understand his fault, that his sick pride did not allow him to understand where the roots of his attitudes and actions lay.

They they told him: "We ask you, comrade, to think once more about what you said here in the meeting. Also, analyze carefully what the comrades have said to you. Then tell us why you do not value the criticism of the comrades and why you like to wear your hair so long."

The meeting was closed but the matter was not dropped. Some comrades were charged with following up on it. They sought the assistance of veteran workers in the factory and they consulted communists working in the same department. Their comrade needed help. He had to be set on the right path. The work with this young worker continued outside the factory. Activists of the youth and trade union organizations persistently explained to him that although long hair appeared to be a simple matter, if you study it deeply, you see that it is the result of the influence of foreign fashion, a concession made to the influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. In these meetings, Ferdinand's ideas were contrasted with the attitudes and actions of his vanguard comrades. But he listened to his comrades in silence. This bothered the secretary of the youth organization and attracted the attention of some trade union activists. They recommended some study materials and thought that the matter should be brought to the attention of his family.

The father and mother of this young worker are working people. His sister is also a worker. Several times, they brought up the subject of their son's long hair but he made excuses like: "I haven't had time to cut it", "I will have it cut soon" and "The barber was on vacation when I went to see him." So, the days, weeks and months passed. When the family learned that he was criticized in a meeting of the youth organization and that he did not listen to the advice of his comrades, their concern became much greater.

"We are working people and working people are characterized by simplicity," his father said.

"You should act like your best comrades act," his mother said.

"Ask your work comrades why they do not wear their hair as long as yours," his sister said.

He heard all this but he still was not convinced that his comrades had the right to "interfere in his affairs."

His mother said: "It is work, not hair, that makes a person handsome. Compliments are given only for good work, for concern and respect for one's elders and for good conduct."

His sister added: "You do not understand the errors you are making. It is not a question of your comrades interfering in 'your business. They are trying to help you to understand that wearing long hair is a manifestation of a foreign ideology which we must fight and crush. Do not forget that people are not judged by the beautiful words that they say but by their deeds."

He began to approach his comrades who had criticized him. He had his hair cut and soon he began to open his heart to his work comrades: "I wanted to be above the others, a 'fashionable' person. I thought that it was enough to abide by the rules at work and that the rest was 'my business.'"

And now, he is not only a good worker but also a young man who understands that the beauty of an individual does not lie in long hair but in work, love and respect for comrades, in the modesty to listen to advice. The activities of the youth and trade union organizations said correctly: "We did our work, but the assistance of the family was necessary to put him on the right path."

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

AGRARIAN DELEGATION RETURN--On 30 March the delegation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union led by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, which visited Greece, returned to Sofia. At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Georgi Dzhagarov, State Council deputy chairman, secretaries and members of the permanent board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and Foreign Ministry officials. [Text] [AU302041 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 30 Mar 80 AU]

COOPERATION WITH INDIAN ARCHITECTS--Delhi, 31 Mar (BTA correspondent)--A cooperation protocol was signed here by Bulgarian and Indian architects. Under their annual cultural plans Bulgaria and India are to exchange visits by architects and students in architecture, and exhibitions. They will organize joint seminars to discuss the problems of architecture, urban and country planning. [Text] [AU312244 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 31 Mar 80 AU]

LEADERS AT STUDENTS' ANNIVERSARY--The Bulgarian university students gathered tonight at the Sofia Cultural Club of University Students to mark the 50th anniversary of the Bulgarian General People's Students Union. Comrades Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the State Council, and Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, as well as many officials of the Ministry of Education and veterans of the student movement took their places at the honorary presidium. A speech was delivered by Stanka Shopova, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. [AU312244 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 31 Mar 80 AU]

INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL AWARD--The State Council awards Lt Gen Georgi Metodiev Anachkov the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor" for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, for his long-term, faultless service and active participation in the establishment and consolidation of the Ministry of Interior organs, as well as on the occasion of his 60th birthday. [Text] [AU312244 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 31 Mar 80 AU]

SUMMER TIME--Sofia, 31 Mar (BTA)--In the future the Summer Time in Bulgaria will be introduced every year on the first Sunday of April and will last until the last Saturday of September. The government decision specifies that for 1980 the Summer Time will be introduced at 000.000 hrs at April 6 (Sunday) and will last till 24.000 hrs on September 27 (Saturday). [Text] [AU312244 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 31 Mar 80 AU]

AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Australia's Ambassador to Bulgaria Barrie Graham Dexter has left the country for good. [Text] [AU041202 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 80 p 2 AU]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MOSCOW--A BCP Central Committee working group led by Stanoy Yonev, chief of the construction and architecture department at the BCP Central Committee, has returned from Moscow. The working group had visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. [Text] [AU041202 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 80 p 2 AU]

TRICHKOV'S ACTIVITIES--A conference on further raising the role of the internal control activities in the ministries and in the economic organizations has begun in Sofia. Deputy ministers, chiefs of the specialized control organs, chiefs of primary control economic organizations, directors general and directors of combines attended the conference. Krustyu Trichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control, read a report. [Text] [AU041202 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0830 GMT 4 Apr 80 AU]

BOZHINOV IN MIKHAYLOVGRAD--On 2 April Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, took part in a seminar of the Mikhaylovgrad party and state organs at which economic matters were discussed. He spoke on some basic features of the new economic mechanism and the results of its practical application in the national economy. [AU022125 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 2 Apr 80 AU]

SWISS FOREIGN TRADE SECRETARY--From 31 March to 2 April (Paul Lauly), Switzerland's state secretary for foreign trade, visited Bulgaria at the invitation of Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade. The state of the mutual trade exchange and the possibilities of its increase were discussed. [AU022125 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 2 Apr 80 AU]

YORDANOV'S ACTIVITIES--A meeting marking the opening of a new polyclinic was held in Samokov today. Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Nikolay Dyulgerov, first secretary of the Sofia Okrug party committee, and Gerasim Mitov, deputy minister of public health, attended the meeting. Georgi Yordanov conveyed greetings to the medical workers and

declared the polyclinic open. The polyclinic will serve more than 50,000 persons. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Apr 80 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO UGANDA, RWANDA--The Bulgarian State Council has issued a decree appointing Serafim Dimitrov Serafimov, at present ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zambia, and the Republic of Burundi, to the post of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Bulgaria to the Republic of Rwanda and to the Republic of Uganda, as well. [Text] [AU121040 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Apr 80 p 2 AU]

LEADERS AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the first anniversary of the joint Bulgarian-Soviet space flight and also the International Day of Aviation and Astronautics has been held at the Central Army House in Sofia. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary; Nikita Tolubeyev, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, and Col Gen Khachik Ambaryan, representative of the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries to the Bulgarian People's Army, attended the celebration. Professor Dr Kiril Serafimov, chairman of the National Committee for Research and Utilization of Outer Space, read a report. Georgi Ivanov, the first Bulgarian cosmonaut, who in the meantime has been promoted to colonel, delivered a speech. [Text] [AU112101 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 11 Apr 80 AU]

TAKOV'S ACTIVITIES--A celebration marking the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the "Furnir" plant has been held in Sofia. Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, read a letter from Todor Zhivkov to the plant's collective. "Zhivkov congratulates the worker's collective on its successes achieved on the occasion of the plant's glorious jubilee. Todor Zhivkov, whose party activities during the years of the sharp class struggles have been closely connected with the heroic struggles of the former 'Furnir' factory, emphasized that during those years it has been a true stronghold of the party." Takov presented awards. [AU112101 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 Apr 80 AU]

DRAGOYCHEVA ACTIVITIES--A plenum of the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement has opened in Sofia. Tsola Dragoycheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo member; Nikolay Georgiev, deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front Central Council, and many activists of the women's movement throughout the country attended the session. Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the women's committee, read a report on women's participation in fulfilling the plan for the country's socioeconomic development in 1980 and in future work in 1981. [Text] [AU112101 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0930 GMT 11 Apr 80 AU]

TRADE COOPERATION WITH NETHERLANDS--On 14 April Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, received Karel Beyen, Netherlands' secretary of state for economic affairs. Issues pertaining to further developing and increasing the trade exchange between the two countries were discussed. [AU150758 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 14 Apr 80 AU]

DOMINICAN TRADE UNION LINKS--Sofia, 12 Apr (BTA)--A delegation of the Trade Union Movement for Workers' Unity of the Dominican Republic, including secretaries Jose Christobal Duran and Rafael Augusto Pimentel, visited Bulgaria (April 10-13) at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The Dominican trade union leaders had talks with a delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions headed by its secretary Georgi Borgov. In the course of talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, they discussed issues related to the further development of contact and cooperation between the Bulgarian trade unions and the Dominican Trade Union Movement for Workers' Unity. The identity of views held by the two trade union centres on the basic problems of the international trade union and workers' movement was reaffirmed at the talks. [Text] [AU131623 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 12 Apr 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER CITES BONDS BETWEEN ARMY, PEOPLE

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Mar 80 p 3

[Commentary by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense; chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA): "On the Occasion of the NVA's 24th Anniversary: The Revolutionary Accomplishments of the People Are Reliably Protected"]

[Text] The strike forces of our socialist state celebrate their 24th anniversary on 1 March. Members of the NVA, tied inseparably to the growth and success of the GDR, make their contribution to building a developed socialist society by working shoulder to shoulder with all workers to protect its military accomplishments. The results of their striving for a strong combat force and high combat readiness are among our people's many achievements, which are accomplished daily under the party's guidance in order to materialize the policies pursuing the well-being and happiness of mankind which were agreed on at the Ninth SED Party Congress.

At the beginning of the decade, the GDR is a socialist state fraternally tied to the Soviet Union, which guarantees its citizens a secure perspective through its stable development. Our country's contribution to securing the peace is respected and recognized all over the world. Its strike forces, which see in that their most important mission, are a permanent part of the socialist military coalition. All that attests to the fact that the country which gave birth to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels has become a bastion of peace and socialism.

Striving for Excellence

The existence of the GDR is significant for those processes in which--thanks to the growing overall strength of the Soviet Union and its strike forces--emphasis has shifted in favor of socialism in the struggle between the two social systems and a new world war could be prevented. The NVA's combat strength and combat readiness contribute to the socialist military balance of power, which once and for all prevents imperialism from exercising unlimited exploitation of the world.

Erich Honecker, secretary general of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the National Defense Council of the GDR, stated that "the National People's Army has proved itself a reliable, indispensable organ of the worker and peasant power. It is the first army of a German state which does not have the mission to oppress its own people and foreign nations, but rather to protect that which the workers create with the work of their hands."

This high esteem both incites and obligates members of the NVA to strive for even greater excellence and to orient themselves towards the increased demands which result from the intensification of the international situation by imperialism, from the arms race forced especially by aggressive forces in the United States, the FRG and Great Britain, as well as from the development of socialist militarism.

Just as during the years the NVA was formed and built up, leadership by the party continues to be the decisive source of all successes because of the growing demands made on members of the army. Commanders, headquarters, political organs and party organizations, supported by tens of thousands of uniformed young socialists as the party's reserve, strive for the necessary increase in military power planned for training year 1979/80 by the order of General Heinz Hoffman, National Defense Minister.

This manifests itself especially in these days and weeks in new considerations, in increased efforts and in results achieved especially in intensified combat training, in the more effective concentration on the universal use of scientific knowledge in all areas including all military areas, as well as all material and financial resources at our disposal. This expresses a clear understanding of the international situation, a firm position on political and military tasks and a deep understanding of what it means to be a soldier in a socialist society.

The affirmation by the NVA and its civilian employees of the party of the working class and its policy, of our socialist state and of the people of the GDR, of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, as well as their strike forces is well expressed in the socialist competition "Combat Position 80--United with the Comrades-in-Arms--Always Vigilant and Combat Ready!" Demanding programs of military readiness even more. "First Shot on Target," "Struggle for the Least Costly Kilometer," "High Reliability and Quality" of weapons systems, airplanes, stations and combat units are catchwords which have resulted in great movements and initiatives.

Together with the Comrades-in-Arms

The basic theme of all our efforts for a strong strike force and combat readiness is the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army and the other brother armies. The conscious cooperation in continuously strengthening the bonds of this class and arms alliance is the result of military training in the spirit of unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism. The touchstone for every defender of socialism is still his attitude to the Soviet army. Learning from the Soviet strike forces, who represent

in the military field the high level of social development of their nation which is struggling for communism, is a basic prerequisite for victory in the case of imperialist aggression.

All GDR workers rightfully expect that the strike forces, as the nucleus of socialist defense, reliably fulfill the NVA's military class mission. In accordance with this mission, the ground forces of the NVA make every effort to guarantee the kind of combat readiness at all times which would enable them to carry out combat missions in the shortest possible time in cooperation with the Soviet strike forces in Germany.

Headquarters, individual armed forces and units of the air force/air defense and of the navy strive day after day for high-quality service at sea and, working closely with Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak comrades-in-arms, secure the peaceful development of our nations.

The NVA can fulfill its responsibilities because its deepest roots are among the people who have taken the defense of their revolutionary accomplishments into their own hands. A comprehensive system of national defense has been built up under the leadership of the party, with a creative interpretation of Lenin's doctrine about the protection of the socialist fatherland and based on the many experiences of the Soviet Union and of other brother countries. The reliable safeguarding of our borders by the GDR border troops, the combat readiness of the task forces of the working class and of our country's civil defense, the universal support and safeguarding of the NVA and of all other protection and security authorities through the political, economic and cultural achievements of the workers make it clear that socialist national defense concerns all segments of society in the truest sense of the word.

Unity Between People and Army

An indestructable unity between people and army can only arise in a socialist society, because only under socialism are the fundamental vital interests of workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers alike in complete unison. This unity is a decisive factor in the political-moral superiority of the socialist strike forces. No imperialist army can come up with anything like it. It is the mission of those armies to uphold a historically antiquated social system; its carrier, monopolistic capitalism, has long since disregarded the vital interests of the people and pursues a policy which is to halt or to reverse all social progress anywhere in the world in the interest of its egotistical class goals. This brands the anti-humanistic and subversive character of imperialist strike forces and their reactionary, aggressive nature.

The NVA, on the other hand, the socialist army of liberated workers and peasants of the GDR, has the calling to defend the noblest cause of mankind, socialism and communism, in the arms alliance with the Soviet strike forces and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact. In this way, the NVA will make a worthy contribution to the preparation for the Tenth SED Congress with new political and military successes by materializing the resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED and the basic orientation given by Erich Honecker secretary General of the Central Committee of the SED to the first secretaries of the Kreis administrations.

MULTI-LEVEL EAST-WEST RELATIONS ANALYZED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 5 Apr 80 p 7

[Interview with Dr László Udvarhelyi, department head of the Ministry of Culture, by András Domany]

[Text] Reality is breaking through the boundaries of the individual sciences, and interdisciplinarity is becoming ever wider. Political science or the study of politics, which has long been regarded with suspicion in our country, is one such discipline that is breaking through its boundaries and integrating with other sciences. Its output of books is not yet too plentiful, but in any case a recent volume entitled "Politika és Gazdaság a Kelet-Nyugati Kapcsolatokban" (Politics and Economics in East-West Relations) deserves particular attention. Not only because its topic is timely, but also because its 32-year-old author, Dr László Udvarhelyi, has himself embarked on an "interdisciplinary career": at the University of Economic Sciences he majored in international relations; after graduation he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the National Planning Office; and now he is a department head within the Ministry of Culture.

[Question:] It seems to me that practice, which science serves, is always complex. May we say that specifically practical political action requires investigation by political science?

[Answer:] Science is a step behind reality, and also for this reason I felt a need to write my book. The practical actions of nation states and social systems are always multidimensional: after all, in a world divided into two world systems, any economic, military or ideological step is also a political one. In other words, by their concrete actions the social systems are never merely pursuing specific objectives; they always want to assert certain values.

[Question:] Investigation of value is rather abstract, and only rarely does it draw examples from everyday politics.

[Answer:] It is not the task of such investigation to draw examples from everyday politics. Everyday political events often mask the lasting trends that in the long term are the decisive, yet specifically these are the

tasks that in the long term are decisive and which we must clearly recognize. For example, we attempt to study the development of the balance of power historically, in its movement. In other words, what is the individual systems' base of support, or in what form their internal values appear, the values which they wish to propagate. One might ask, of course, why the investigation of all this is so important in a small country the size of Hungary. Because our influence on the world is limited, and our behavior is characterized by active adjustment. And since our situation in the world is determined mostly by external factors, we must think in global terms. Today the "extra Hungarian non est vita" mentality would be entirely absurd. More so than in the past.

[Question:] Your book is about politics and economics, in that order. There are many misconceptions about the relationship between these two spheres, about when the aspects of which one are the more important.

[Answer:] Already the classics of Marxism warned us against an economic concept of social movements. The trouble is that in concrete situations it is difficult to recognize the extent of interaction. The two spheres permeate each other: economic laws are able to exert themselves through the filter of politics and its peculiar set of objectives. This is particularly true under socialism as a society that organizes and governs itself scientifically. We can investigate, of course, also the economic relations between the socialist world and capitalist world. In this context it is likewise true that economic considerations are not the only ones to assert themselves: the objective of action, last but not least, is to strengthen the given social system's international position.

[Question:] Our interest lies in stable relations between reliable partners?

[Answer:] So much so that we will not accept rules of the game contrary to this. Besides direct interests, of course, from the capitalist world's viewpoint it is also a factor that the development of relations can become also a means of exerting pressure on us. The feasibility of such pressure, for example, is being overestimated at present by the Carter-Brzezinski line. Although in an era of expanding relations this could create problems for the socialist economy, our economic cooperation with capitalist partners is not so extensive as to place us at their mercy. But it is true that independence has an important prerequisite: we must acquire advanced technology on an offensive and active basis. Which means that new technology, serving structural renewal, must provide a new impulse for the internal process of renewal and must not lead to one-sided technological dependence. For this we need a suitable background: a system of economic management and planning and, in a wider sense, social conditions that permit the continuous unfolding of innovative effects from within and below. By innovation, of course, I mean not only technological modernization, but also a renewal of human abilities and behaviors.

[Question:] We have already strayed far from our question . . . But let us stop here. With reference to the Polish scientist Pajestka, you mention

innovation from below also as a principal characteristic of a structural revolution.

[Answer:] The process that I refer to as the second structural revolution began in the socialist countries more or less in the late 1960s. By then their manpower reserves were exhausted, and attention everywhere focused on economic effectiveness, on intensive development. (Incidentally, the first structural revolution was postwar socialist industrialization.) I think it is very important to chart the process and to divide development into periods. For a messianic stance would be very foreign to socialism. We advocate not a closed and perfect "thousand-year-old empire," rather a changing and developing society whose development is influenced also by the effectiveness of its behavior toward the other system. In this sense the second structural revolution represents a qualitative change: not merely a shift from extensive to intensive economic development, but also a social condition in which the organic activity of individuals and collectives stems from entire society's interest as represented by political power. The key question, then, is innovation from below: programs that advance society can originate only from such initiatives. People shape their own history, but they must be made interested in doing so. Progress is already evident in a more differentiated conception of interest relations: we rarely attempt to resolve the difficulties merely by agitation. I regard as very important also cultural factors, but by no means in the sense of "representative culture." I have in mind also political and production culture, the culture of human relations, which in a wider sense is one of the main characteristics of man as a productive force. To put it another way, we might say that socialism converts capitalism's "homo oeconomicus" into "homo socialis."

[Question:] How the so-called East-West relations develop is a timely and exciting topic. To what extent can trade, culture and sports be linked to political events? Can the international solidarity of progressive forces be an argument against relations between the two world systems?

[Answer:] The essence of these relations lies specifically in competition. Peaceful coexistence means that the world systems do not renounce their strategic objectives, only that they exclude total armed conflict from the means at their disposal, and this contains also elements of competition and cooperation. Under realpolitik in the true sense of the word, then, basic differences do not cease, and thus each side continues to strive to strengthen its own position. In other words, peaceful coexistence is international relations' only realistic form of motion. Incidentally, it is an interesting contradiction that peaceful coexistence has made the international arena more complex, "multichanneled." For the West, as a result of the global strategic balance of power, is striving for partial superiority and local asymmetry. Consequently, the economic and ideological factors have gained in importance. For example, the capitalist world has a long-term interest in preserving the technological gap, i.e., in not selling its latest achievements, although this view underestimates the socialist countries' ability to develop autonomously. The capitalist world is also

interested in perpetuating the rules of the game in the world economy, in stabilizing the spheres of interest. Also for this reason I say that "everyday things" are becoming more and more important in ideology: our opponents wish to demonstrate their superiority with the differences in the standards of living, with certain characteristics of the way of life. Thus the basic question is how much we can realize of socialism's principles and social objectives that open up new dimensions.

[Question:] It is interesting that today we hear little about the one-time theory of convergence, and hardly anyone in the West contends that the two systems are becoming more similar. In practice, however, we are encountering similar problems. For example, the Conservative government in Britain refuses to support unprofitable state enterprises. There are such conflicts also in our system.

[Answer:] The theories of convergence have been discounted on the basis of practical and political considerations, for also the capitalist world admits that we are acting "systematically and purposefully." The fact nevertheless remains that, for example, environmental problems have emerged also in our country, although slightly later than in the most advanced countries. We, too, are not immune to these problems, but in principle it is specifically socialism that offers suitable solutions. For the essence of such problems lies unalterably in the conditions of ownership and expropriation; in what interests the political leadership represents, and in how it intends to relieve the tensions. We do not intensify social tensions, rather we resolve them, because this--in contrast with narrow economic rationality--also means that we are guided by a broader social-policy rationality. And even though there are misunderstandings about this in practice, wider publicity and frank discussion can help clarify the misunderstandings.

[Question:] We are living in a period when the advocates of cold war are becoming louder. Is your opinion, written a few months ago, still valid that there will be no return to cold war in its classical sense?

[Answer:] Let us speak more precisely. Since 1917, and particularly since the socialist world system's development, two schools of imperialism have been arguing with each other. According to one view, carefully controlled and selective development of relations is an instrument for exerting influence and pressure on the socialist world. Sonnenfeldt, the renowned American foreign-policy strategist, wrote in 1978 that this strategy "can be successful only if the gradually developing mutual relations reduce the tendency to let the motive forces of competition shift into a crisis of such intensity that will unavoidably destroy the fabric of mutual dependence." Thus there is no question of their abandoning their strategic objectives, merely of their wanting to achieve their basic objectives through a balanced realpolitik. The other school does not consider this adequate and wants to resort to direct pressure, embargoes, local armed conflicts and partial superiority. The latter view regards as necessary the creation of a strong and united Western world, naturally under the leadership of the United States.

[Question:] Socialism, even under these conditions, must implement its structural revolution. The external conditions for this have become more difficult. This also makes it more difficult for us to exert a demonstrative influence on those who live in the capitalist world.

[Answer:] In terms of the standard of living, we will be unable to compete for some time with the most advanced capitalist countries. But we can challenge them in everyday things. We are broadening democratic rights and participation in government, and not because the West is compelling us to do so. The better functioning of our political institutions and the inclusion of "homo politicus" in the decision-making processes have the potential to exert demonstrative influence. Parallel with this, of course, we cannot abandon our objectives in conjunction with raising the standard of living. To improve the well-being of individuals and collectives is an internal necessity that stems from the essence of socialism.

1014
CSO: 2500

READERS REACT TO ARTICLE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

[Editorial Report] In the 8 March 1980 issue of the political-literacy weekly ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian p 3 the behavior of youths, usually unemployed, prone to acts of vandalism, assault and theft, was the subject of an article by Bulcsu Bertha. Now, in the 12 April issue of the same source, Bertha discusses reader reaction to his article. Comment ranged the gamut from concerned approval of his views, serious sociological analysis, and indignant defense of the deeds of the unruly elements. Bertha writes as follows:

"In response to my article published last month under the title, "Phenomena" various groups of readers responded in accord with their particular and often conflicting social and political viewpoints. The letters, comment and argumentative writings which were forwarded to me can be broken down roughly into three categories. Some writers from Budapest and the provinces provided examples relating to the outcome of the humane treatment of unemployed, vandalistic elements which skirt the fringes of crime. For example, the writers are afraid to send their children to school, because there they are attacked by gangs of juveniles who steal the formers' lunches and pocket money. The children receive no suitable protection. One of our journalists reports that in Sasshalom the tube-pant set has desecrated the cemetery. The youths shelter in the crypts while neighborhood dogs make free with human bones.

"The second group of letters and comment came primarily from teachers, specialists in the field of youth welfare and a writer who prepares scientific analyses of education. These letters and comments are objective in tone; they analyze the situation realistically and are seeking solutions with a great sense of civic responsibility. They, too, provide distressing data: The specialist in youth welfare reveals that glue sniffing and abuse of Parkane are going out of style. Marijuana and LSD have come into use in the Blaha underground. The Arabian powder is cheaper; the American stuff costs more. But it is still sadder that a grade school was found in the course of an investigation at which a movement has been initiated permitting no one in the class to give more than a 2-rated answer. Students who receive a higher grade are beaten up by the other youngsters. Youth welfare workers and teachers are troubled by the fact that they have no suitable means of disciplining the students.

"The third group of letters, nine in number, were written in defense of the 'luxury requirements' of the tube-pant set and the youth who had killed a policeman. In their opinion, society is to blame for the phenomena of the tube-pant set because it has failed to provide them with lodging and a life-style which they find appealing. According to them those who object and try to keep the tube-panters from invading housing developments are petit bourgeois spoiled by excessive material comfort. I, too, am roundly berated for speaking up for the peace of working men and women. I regret that I have angered or alienated certain readers but I could do nothing else. Every organized and civilized society is based on work. This is especially true in the socialist countries. Incidentally, this group makes a serious attempt to read total condemnation of the tube-pant set in my article, and this is by no means the case. I was writing only of those who have approached the verge of crime through their antisocial behavior. I am unqualified to make a comprehensive analysis of the movement because I am unfamiliar with the forms it takes from gangs on Blaha Square to rock concerts etc. But I and everyone else knows that it is possible to exist for longer periods without work only by selling one's body or by taking life necessities such as food, clothing and possibly drink from their sources. Employees of department stores and food markets usually call this simply 'stealing.' How long an individual can remain on the fringes of crime within the realm of legally classified 'minor offenses' depends on temperament and 'talent' for such behavior. Every day the papers report cases of theft and breaking and entering which began with loitering, vagrancy--frequently on Blaha Lujza Square. One writer argues that we must learn to coexist with youngsters to whom daily work, the family and home do not constitute a fundamental value. The authorities concerned will decide how the country can coexist with these youngsters for whom work, home and family do not constitute a basic value.

"It is a quite remarkable phenomenon that some of the writers in the third group defend 'the right to life's luxuries' of one of the slayers of Company Sergeant Major Karoly Gyula. They have no pity to spare for the murdered police officer but take exception to my referring to the killer simply as 'buddy.' If they were more familiar with the meaning and emotional connotation of the Hungarian word, they would find no cause for outrage. 'Buddy' is a synonym for 'friend' and is used throughout the country as a friendly endearing form of address. If they had taken offense at using such a word for a murderer, it would be easier to understand. But I was criticized most severely for being outraged at the killer's need for luxuries, by the fact that he wanted to buy luxury items with the money obtained through theft. According to the letter writers, everyone including the police killer is entitled to luxuries. Naturally this is a right, but only if the luxuries are obtained through money earned by work, not through theft.

Those who feel there is justification for meeting one's desire to share in life's luxuries through robbery-murder bewilder me. Surely they cannot consider this an acceptable solution? Practically all of the writers of the last group of nine letters are incensed because I recommend only work, a life befitting a decent person, a clean and tidy house, a well-groomed

thrifty woman in place of luxury and that I dare to maintain that a walk in the woods, mushroom picking, clean air and pure water are the acme of delight.

"I cannot understand this indignation. If the prime minister were to recommend such a life-style, it might be possible to deem it insufficient. But I am a private individual, not the prime minister. I am not advocating a nation-wide program. The day I wrote of the phenomena of March I felt that a walk in the woods, clean air and pure water were the peak. My window overlooks a highway; noise, lead-containing emissions pour into the room. I undoubtedly felt a longing for clean air. Furthermore, I enjoy walking in the woods and picking mushrooms. Those who do not enjoy this should not walk and pick. Insofar as pure water is concerned, everyone will soon learn that it is indeed the ultimate. Our surface and ground water have been becoming rapidly contaminated over the past 10 years. The prodigious amounts of chemical fertilizer used in agriculture are constantly polluting our water supplies with nitrates. Water supplied in dozens of communities are becoming unpotable. In such villages the water cannot be used even for cooking or washing infants' clothing. At present, the health of the population of 172 communities in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County is threatened by water containing more than the permitted 40mg/liter of nitrate.

"I do not recall that the present nor any preceding Hungarian Government promised our people luxury. When the system of large estates was discontinued in 1945 and the decree on land distribution was issued, then 642,000 applicants received farmland and 350,000 persons were given parcels of land to build houses. The nearly 1 million persons affected found this program for work and human life most acceptable and beautiful. While claiming the right to luxuries one should not forget that according to latest FAO statistics there are presently 400 million undernourished people in the world; 450 million are starving and 50 million die of starvation every year. These people have no knowledge of a clean, orderly house; they live by the roadside with no shelter and die there, too.

CSO: 2500

BARBU PRAISES CEAUSESCU FOR FLEXIBILITY, CONFIDENCE

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Apr 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "The President"]

[Excerpts] The Romans called their head of state the father of the country. He took upon himself the strategy and tactics of battle and was the one who was most endangered in combat. Of course, not all of these men were exemplary but, nevertheless, the Roman experience in running a state seemed to me to be most masculine. If we compare it to the Greek version, the latter seems more romantic and more poetic. Perhaps it is a question of temperament, of the sea or of a special climate. The Greeks were great navigators, the Romans were land soldiers. The terra firma was their terrain. Great builders, with a pragmatic nature; great legislators, and not only because of the Roman law which serves as a basis for this discipline throughout the world, the sons of Caesar have left an ancient trail in the history of the world.

I am writing all this because our president has a Roman nature, despite the fact--and I hope that I am not being indiscreet--that this great statesman who gets up at 5 AM also writes poetry. I mentioned this fact in an interview which I gave to a West German newsmen and the astonishment of my visitor cannot be described. For us, the Romanians, this trait is natural in almost all the people. A man who comes from the cosmic summit, as Blaga said, where dimensions and human existence are different, where law, song, work, and love of country have serious equivalents which never existed before, cannot help being a legislator, too. A man who steers the ship with a sure hand.

I have had the occasion to see him in the work sessions of the Central Committee. I was amazed at the confidence with which this man got along in all areas, from industry to quotations from Eminescu. Quite a few times he corrected department chiefs in regard to the figures presented in their reports. On several occasions, he humorously stopped the wave of oratory of some speakers, bringing them back to earth, that is, to current problems, which should have been reported. Along with my colleagues, I had an opportunity to listen to these spontaneous interruptions, so much in the tradition of Romanian parliamentarianism, which the stenograms and tapes recorded.

President Ceausescu is a dynamic man, with an ability to make rapid decisions which few leaders have, especially in the key moments of history. As we know, there have been occasions when this ability has proven to be of colossal dimension. These facts cannot be forgotten. Our president knows how to make allowances when the letter of the law is of a harsher bent. He has proven it in many cases and I would say that his flexibility, if we consider only the diplomatic sphere, has won for him a great reputation in the entire world. Once I called him the architect of peace and it seems to me that he has long deserved the Nobel Prize for understanding among peoples. With an irreproachable consistency, dedicated to the cause of Romania, which is the cause of the entire intelligent world, he has been successful, on many occasions, in liquidating acute problems of planetary existence which could lead to a tragic end.

If, for many years we have been singing songs in peace and looking with confidence toward the future, if for many years this people has been showing the world what a superb effort can be made by a country under communism, we owe this to him. This is why I have written this piece on the re-election of our president.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ROLE OF THE PARTY IN MONITORING PRODUCTION FOR EXPORT

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 80 pp 19-21

[Unsigned article: "Honoring Export Obligations - A Problem of Political Awareness"]

[Text] "This year we must ensure not only a balance of trade, but also a reduction of the deficit created last year," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the Working Conference of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee on 25-26 February 1980. "This requires that we export everything that is called for in the plan, at the appropriate quality, fight for good prices, appropriately use the raw materials and labor of our people, and, at the same time, work more decisively to reduce imports."

Giving proof of profound understanding of the complexities of these major desires of the national economy, the party organs and organizations are cultivating high responsibility and exigency among the ranks of all leadership cadre for the improvement of the organization of all activities involved in the day-to-day achievement of production for export. It is worth showing the experience gained by the party committee and the workers council at the "Electromotor" Enterprise in Timisoara, where the largest portion of production is slated for export. Here, broad actions were initiated to study the demands of foreign customers and to obtain certain contracts that would give the group the opportunity not only to achieve plan goals, but also to create certain reserves in order to satisfy additional demands. The publication of certain catalogues and brochures in the universally understood languages, as well as certain technical books regarding the characteristics of their products, their organization, together with the help of our economic agencies abroad, of certain miniexpositions in diverse countries, where the new products and performance levels were presented, and

the maximum use of their participation in international fairs contributed to the broadening of the areas of interests of the foreign customers and to an increase in the level of orders. Moreover, this is just one of the ways that ensured the full achievement, up to now, of the export plan in the current five year plan.

In considering the complete fulfillment of orders a responsibility of the first order, the party organizations brought about a concentration of forces in the direction of daily fulfilling production under faultless conditions. Thus, beginning with the fact that the products contracted for foreign partners must be produced at technically superior parameters comparable to those attained throughout the world and must be delivered on time, the bureau of the Sibiu County Party Committee helped the enterprises apply the directive issued by the party leadership to create special sections for the production of goods for export, with these sections now operating at the "Libertatea" and wood processing units in Sibiu, at the "Textila" Enterprise in Cisnadia and so forth. In places where they were not able to organize such sections because of the structure or diverse nature of production, measures were taken to create teams of workers having the highest technical-professional training that would be exclusively involved in making goods for export, as was the case at the "Independenta" Enterprise in Sibiu and the Mirsa Mechanical Enterprise. Other measures that fertilized, as one might say, the field of rigorously adhering to contractual obligations were: the priority supply of these sections and teams with everything necessary for the timely carrying out and even ahead-of-schedule production of goods, and the thorough training of the workers prior to the start-up of production to fill the orders so they could understand the characteristics of the future machinery and equipment, the technological norms and the requirements of the foreign customers.

Of great and sometimes decisive importance in ensuring the on time fulfillment of all export plan provisions is the establishment of a system of following up throughout the entire technological process the manner in which production is taking place. Through the broad possibilities to understand, coordinate and intervene, in this regard we can relate to the application of the directive issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the county party committees to name

a secretary who has the daily duty of examining the status of achieving export goals in each unit and the causes of events that prevent honoring these goals, establishing adequate measures to quickly eliminate them. On such a basis, the bureau of the Marghita County Party Committee received word of a tendency to fall behind in respecting export obligations in several economic units. Acting efficiently, the bureau convened the secretaries of the party organizations, the leadership cadre of the enterprises involved and the representatives of the industrial centrals and ministries, as well as all other persons responsible for the optimum movement of goods, from the railroads, vehicle transport enterprise and so forth, in order to get the activity back on the track of promptitude and concern with which the demands of the foreign customer must be met. In this manner, a broad cooperative action of self-help was developed between the clothing enterprises in Miercurea Ciuc and Odorheiu Secuiesc, the Miercurea Ciuc Combed Wool Spinning Mill, the knitwear enterprises in Miercurea Ciuc and Toplita, and the wood processing units by taking over certain orders -- technical-material supply, self-supply and the effective use of their own work forces having a say in the matter.

In the spirit of the directive formulated by the secretary general of the party, on a weekly basis the secretariats of the county party committees analyze how the export activities are being carried out, the phenomena that appear and, especially, the measures that are required so that in the next week each economic units can honor its goals under optimum conditions and recover arrearages. On such an occasion, the secretariat of the Brasov County Party Committee, discussing some of the deficiencies in fulfilling the export plan, helped those enterprises that had not kept within the terms of their contracts to draw up plans to recoup losses and reinforced those sections and teams that were having difficulties with communists who have high professional training and who are capable of setting examples of awareness and exigency in their work. At the same time, the secretariat asked the county export commission to begin using 10 day preliminary estimates for achieving the export plan so that the secretariat of the county party committee, depending on the results of the estimates, could be in a position to initiate actions of a broader scope, causing the party committees and the workers councils to organize their activities in the same fashion.

The creation of certain groups made up of specialists from different compartments in the economic units dealing with exports that follow the manner in which the sections and sectors pursue the achievement of production for export, daily informing the party committees and the enterprises' leadership about problems that arise and the possible avenues for solutions, similarly help to move the activities along and prevent certain difficulties. It is clear, however, that the presence of these groups does not at all diminish the concern that the party committees must permanently express regarding the manner in which the communists in the enterprises' leadership entrusted with specific responsibilities in this area work so that the structure of exports does not contain products with low levels of processing, outdated technologies or increased costs, and show perseverance and initiative in resolving problems, with these people making every effort prior to asking for help. There is great value in the practice used by some party committees of periodically asking for brief reports from certain leadership cadre regarding the manner in which they are involved in solving problems and of discussing at general party meetings the contribution of communists in the exemplary achievement of export plan goals.

Unfortunately, however, there still are party organizations that have not reviewed the manner in which production for foreign customers is achieved and that do not firmly intervene when they learn of irregularities in the appropriate flow of this production. Because the party committee and the workers council at the Turnu Magurele Chemical Fertilizer Combine did not consistently pursue the achievement of products and deliveries when there were conditions and orders and did not begin the necessary mobilization of forces in order to honor these orders, last year it was not able to fulfill its plan.

Militating for the rigorous adherence to export obligations, the party organs and organizations are required to give first priority in their concerns to raising the technical-qualitative level of products and increasing their degree of competitiveness. And, the fulfillment of such a requirement presupposes the creation of a climate of high exigency and responsibility, the cultivation of efforts for the continuing improvement of professional training and the permanent understanding of the status of the parameters

attained in the world for similar products, so they can be exceeded. In creating the slogan, "Quality -- the standard of behavior for improving the prestige of the enterprise's brandname," the party committee at the Slatina Aluminum Enterprise, together with the workers council, undertook special measures to explain the implications of making certain high quality products, improving production technologies and establishing a strong technological discipline in those sections having a decisive role in this regard. Thus, the percentage of high quality products in the total volume of goods delivered for export reached over 50 percent, under conditions of exceeding the plan for the first three months of this year.

In turning the achievement of export goals into a question of political awareness, of worker responsibility and of professional pride, the party organs and organizations must pursue to the same degree the efficiency of this important activity, bringing about a greater mobility in adapting to the new exigencies and using to a higher degree the potential of each economic unit.

8724

CSO: 2700

RABBI RESPONDS TO COMPLAINT ABOUT CONTRIBUTIONS FOR MATZO

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIK in Romanian 15 Apr 80 p 4

[Article: "Letters and Replies"]

[Text] The office of His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen received a "complaint" from Mr M.I. of Bucharest expressing dissatisfaction with the following:

- a) the fact that when the Passover matzo was distributed in the temples and synagogues, a contribution was requested for the community [of Jews in Bucharest] and another contribution was requested for Talmud Tora [courses].
- b) the fact that the allotment of matzo meal was rationed and requests for large quantities were refused.

His eminence gave the following response to this complaint: "To Mr M.I.", Bucharest

In reference to your complaint of 29 March 1980 I would like to tell you:

1) To your question "why", why was a small contribution (10 lei) for the community and 5 lei for Talmud Tora requested at the time of the sale of the matzos, I would like to respond with another "why." Why shouldn't we request these contributions? Don't we have synagogues, kosher restaurants, Talmud Tora courses, and religious and cultural institutions to maintain? With what money do we do this? The Joint [Distribution Committee] gives us aid only for assistance [to the needy] and it would not be a good thing for it to give [other aid?] The Jews in Bucharest who feel at all like Jews must contribute (only a contribution because in no way does it cover our expenses) to these holy institutions.

Read the financial reports posted in the courtyard of Temple Coral and you will see that your question has an answer.

2) It is our duty to see that every Jew has matzos. Matzo meal is also a Passover food but it is not obligatory from a ritual point of view. However,

unfortunately, some Jews come to buy large quantities of matzo meal because they like "latkes." However, we cannot satisfy these "needs" in an unlimited fashion and therefore we rationed the sale of matzo meal.

We hope that by actively participating in our community life you will have other questions to ask (Passover is the celebration of the four questions--more questions can be asked on other days of the year) to which, to the extent possible, you will receive a reply.

With Best Wishes,
Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen

CSO: 2700

QUALITY, SUBSTANCE OF FILMS NEED IMPROVEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 20 Mar 80 pp 38-40

/Article by Florian Potra/

Text I think that today, in our culture, a film critic must begin his research necessarily by delimiting the subject, by knowing the precariousness of the working tools and the embarrassing scarcity of interdisciplinary or at least preparatory studies. In this case, the subject is the film, predominantly the Romanian fiction film, on whose problems the aestheticians and theoreticians of art, sociologists, psychologists, teachers and economists have looked little until now, which partially explains the difficulty with which one can reach a total, overall appraisal of the films' problems. It is as if one feels a vague and diffuse dissatisfaction with the quality of independent films, both from the public as well as the critics, but most times the reasons do not coincide.

While the reviews, almost in unison, deplore naturalism, illustrativism and superficial didacticism, which still are being disseminated liberally in our film production, the public stands in line for "Uncle Marin the Multimillionaire," clearly showing where their preferences lie. Sociological surveys lack or are very slow in communicating their results, so we do not have the opportunity to support the statistical data offered by the so-called "thermometer of receipts" in an interpretive synthesis. But what if our public, the great majority of them, likes naturalist illusion?! And, if so, what is the critic to do? Keep this trend or polemicize with it, as a television editor proceeded to do by "slandering" "Gone With the Wind" and coming out against an entire television-viewing wave? But look, by proceeding precisely from this important "incident," the critic has the opportunity to initiate a first upturning of the ground to be investigated.

Without resorting to an empty kind of aesthetic "spirit of compromise," one may answer--along the line of the theorizing undertaken about the cultural industry--that "Gone With the Wind" is a masterpiece of mass cultural product, that is, a culmination of film as a popular spectacle not at all to be scorned.

From "competitive" angles at the international level, our films with too few colorless exceptions do not represent a reference point in the world, and when we write "world" here we should understand above all the international festivals (as "launching pads") and then the awareness of moviegoers and spectators from other countries (even if certain Romanian police movies like "With Clean Hands" have been and are continuing to be enjoyed abroad). In particular, at the international festivals--including the ones in Karlovy Vary, Moscow or Tashkent--the "authors' films", which our filmmakers do not cultivate or cultivate too little, are sought and win. On the other hand, our films with rare exceptions have not penetrated the commercial circuit of movies in the world although, as "average products," they have a suitable spectacular and cultural level. So, the Romanian film far from offering, at the world level, a presence equal to that of the plastic arts, music, literature and even of the theater, without even mentioning the popular art demonstrations.

But at home, how do we stand with the needs of our own public which, in the view of our producers, prefers a "well-made" spectacular product? It seems that the national cinematography is not satisfying the basic demands of the public at home to the proper and possible extent. So, what does it have to do and on what positions must it place its criticism, particularly if, and there is no other way, it also assumes the job of aesthetic education and orientation and not merely an archivist who determines and records film phenomena?

My opinion, without any pretense at originality, is simple and only seems to be one of compromise. It views two steps: the progressive nearing of the average product, the spectacle (enjoyment) to the condition or art and the encouragement and stimulation of "peaks," of the possible "great personalities" (capable through authors' films to offer "models" to average production, a bridge spread out toward the broad public). Of course, real contributions from the first step would be supplied in time for a more well-based education and aesthetic formation (and not only aesthetic) of the masses of viewers, whom we must arm with knowledge and a critical shield before the formidable audio-visual solicitation to which they are subjected. The current world is consuming enormous quantities of images, particularly film images, but, as an informed Italian critic states, if it does not know how to evaluate them (that is, to "read" them, to "decode" them), the world no longer will succeed in evaluating itself and will exist without at least having awareness of its existence: From here we have the need to intensify the culturalization of the masses, primarily "film literacy." Within the film's cultural mission, the second step would smooth the way toward the decisive assertion of creators who are representative, who are far-reaching in light of the basic considerations of Victor Iliu, according to whom the national film schools are asserting themselves through the talent of big directors: "Without great artists, without great directors, cinematography does not exist and we would be talking of a national school and its specific nature in vain if the particular works were mediocre."

If, methodologically, there are two goals, the critic's discussion here and now is a single one, precisely because both the aspects mentioned directly aim

at a single basic problem: the artistic nature of the film. The more striking, the more full this nature is, the more the film will come close to the prestige to which it aspires and the more it will get further away from the still oppressive burden of naturalism, of illustrativism, of an explanatory, "coddling" didacticism.

What is more, translated into general terms, the film's artistic nature means nothing more than quality and, implicitly, formative educational effectiveness. The new man, the continual improvement in his awareness, the gradual nearing to the communist ideals of individual happiness in close agreement with collective happiness--all these cannot intervene through mediocre or simply banal, inexpressive and dull works. On the contrary, a continually striking equation must be established of useful, through the truth, to beautiful in the film's art, together with television and, often, through television the most widespread. That is, the decisive aesthetic quality of the work of art, through the aesthetic quality understanding an inextricable unity of expression, content and form.

This is an old problem and has concerned theoreticians and film workers for nearly 70 years: If the film can be art, what do this art of the film, its specific nature, its own material, its ways and techniques of communication and expression consist of? As in all branches of the "science of the Beautiful," all-encompassing and definitive definitions and answers have not been found (and probably will not be found soon) for the particular aesthetics of the film. Yet, there is a constant traveling all the meditations and reasonings: The film will be more artistic as it succeeds in freeing itself from the naturalist servitudes of the (mechanical) reproduction of reality. It is a valid principle for all the arts, but for films it becomes crucial since, due to the "medium," the cameras and the film, having photography at the base, the film appears compelled once and for all to show, while the vocation of any art is to suggest. Thus, the film worker's creative tension in the direction of obtaining a work of art must be more powerful, if not greater, and in any case more complex and, eventually, more involved, more vigilant, since he--the film worker--not only must see, must interpret and express but also must curb the inertia of the tool he is operation with, adapting it to the requirements of his own artistic intentions. The question necessarily is: How can a film maker be an artist and how can his films become works of art?

It is not possible, of course, to dictate the solutions, standards and rules, as practice itself demonstrates. Despite this, an analysis, be it a concise one, of the film phenomenon--over a history of more than 50 years--leads to the following conclusion: A film is important and valuable when it is problematic from the viewpoint of content and from the viewpoint of forms and language expression used it overcomes the strictly communicative and semantic level in order to become polysemic, a revealer of "secondary senses," of truths "in a second view" or a "second reality." I would like to dwell on the latter since, beyond the subjects approached, Romanian film in particular has shortcomings adequately sustaining the contents chosen through expressiveness of the film's language.

All 20th century art, particularly the modern novel, feels that the most common works draw the readers and viewers to discover, and even make them discover, something else and to discover a "hidden soul" behind the veil of appearances. And here is an enticing possibility, if not partial, characterization of art: the activity of bringing to light, to the view, to the surface some precious deposits of man's material and spiritual life. The cognitive element of art, in this way, is enriched and effectively placed into movement. Basically the artist is even placed in the center of a problem stressed repeatedly by the party's documents and taken up appropriately at the 12th party congress, also, and that is that nothing exists in nature, in the world which cannot be known, but merely things which are not known yet and intended, however, to become one by one transparent to human understanding, being discovered in all their ontological nudity.

The fact that even in antiquity art had such a vocation we know from Aristotle's "Poetics." The mimesis concept, correctly interpreted today, refers not to a pure and simple, naturalist imitation but rather to an imitation of the hidden essence of things, as a traveling of a stormy route of knowledge through art, to which dialectical materialist aesthetics today gives a primary place. As Gyorgy Lukacs wrote, "In the decisive matter of the relationship between phenomenon and essence, the specific nature of art is demonstrated by the fact that essence is completely dissolved in the phenomenon and in a work of art the essence never can take on an independent form separate from the phenomenon while in science it may be separate--conceptual--while the intimate logical, methodological and objective ties between them do not have to suppress this conceptual separation. Art thus appears closer to life than science."

Without necessarily insisting on "protochronist" priorities, it is certain that Romanian culture, even in the 30's, through Lucian Blaga and the theory of metaphor offered a first-ranking contribution to a more flexible formation of modern aesthetic debates and, for us here, to development of the particularly current discussion on the film's expressiveness. Stripped of its transcendentalizing implications, Lucian Blaga's aesthetic thought, in the effort to define the metaphor, may be transformed into an origin of intervention and artistic modeling, into an effective tool of criticism, both in the hands of the theoreticians as well as film workers in their specific duty to "dip into the book of life," of nature.

As we know, (doing nothing other than fulfilling a role as a "transformer" of tension of ideas: from the philosophy of cultural and general aesthetics toward the film's magnetic field), the metaphor as a "creation of culture" is of two kinds: plasticizing, "describing an object through another object," as Ovidiu Drimba explained in "Blaga's Philosophy" and revealing, "which seeks to reveal something hidden to us." This differentiation seems particularly valuable to me, since it places the emphasis on quality and, in general lines, corresponds to the levels of denotation and connotation which, in the system of the film's semiology, are considered to be superposed, to coincide. But it is asserted that connotation in film is the same as denotation, due to the basic nucleus of photography, with the documentary-description load, not only

does it not clear up things but complicates them, clouds them, particularly when, as some simiologists timidly mumble, the artistic coefficient is determined apparently by the angle of filming or ways to light the frames.

In brief, according to Blaga, the plasticizing metaphor is nothing more than an "equalization," an immediate "comparison": The sparrows on the telephone wires are (like) musical notes on a staff; so-and-so's house is (like) a glass; that girl is (like) a flower. But, no matter how ingenious the direct closeness of the plasticizing metaphor is, it does not explain the essence of natural or social phenomena and does not reveal the "secondary senses," the hidden meaning, at first glance, under the superficial crust of a thing. In exchange, the revealing metaphor "does not simply reproduce: It unites the meaning, bringing out something from the hidden essence itself of the fact or object."

With the perspicacity of honesty of the true artist, Blaga was drawing attention to the danger of "metaphorism" and deliberately willed and manufactured artificial of the poet and the author when a thing "is hidden," is "covered" and he arranges a "mystery" through twists and improper comparisons, making the object appear obscure, difficult, dark. Of course, it is a procedure leading to pseudo-art and does not uncover any essence, besides the lack of talent and creative authenticity of the mediocre author. Thus, not artificially veneered "obscurity" but, rather, a sustained, committed effort to penetrate the superposed layers of human existence and bring to light some still unknown or insufficient known truths and essences, if possible.

Now, let us mediate the inertia of that information in "the debate" on the art of the film. In a thick study devoted to the work of the director Michelangelo Antonioni from "Blowup" to "Profession: Reporter," the theoretician and Marxist essayist Quido Aristarco bases his arguments and sees the artistic value of the films in the author's very ability to tell a story through epiphany (a thing means something but also something else) like Joyce's style, with "Blowup" able to be considered "a great epiphany, comprising small epiphanies, the epiphany of epiphanies." The person who remembers the portrait that Brancusi made of James Joyce "plasticizes" more specifically the formula of concentric circles (labyrinthic) of progressive knowledge which is projected from or around a kernel to be brought to view, to be shown.

Accepting the reasoning up until now as timid theoretical-practical premises, let us attempt to discover some "points of metaphorization," plasticizing the revealing, in our native films. It should be stated that it is not a question of "pretty" frames: The pictorial quality of many Romanian films--to a great extent due to the image operators--is indisputable. For example, who would be able to deny beauty in many frames and sequences in "Tanase Scatiu," "Beyond the Bridge," "Through the Ashes of the Empire," "The Green Grass of Home," "Before the Silence," to cite graphic titles just from recent years? However, how many of them are also metaphorically revealing?

Few, even very few of them. Let me hasten to state that however many there are, they appear in particular in the "leisurely" portions, in the glades devised in anartificially hurried montage of customs, accelerated due to exterior reasons: in "Tanase Scatiu," the waiting interval loaded with "mystery" (apparently, banal) before the kidnap of the bovar Dinu Murgulet; in "Beyond the Bridge," the suggestive scene of the painting of the mirror in the dialog between Sida and the mother superior; in "Through the Ashes of the Empire," the ambiguity of the diplomat, the bizarre synthesis of Pirgu, Stanica Ratiu, the baron (from "Night Refuge") and Estragon (from Samuel Beckett's work), the symbols of the new roof on the house and the haymaking in "The Green Grass of Home"; while in "Before the Silence," the atmosphere permeated with the disquiet from the end and, perhaps, several others. However it is certain that there have been more occasions of film expressiveness in various other films. In the historical film dedicated to Pintea, for example, the scene of the serfs freed from the jails, who refused to touch the morsels of the count's banquet, could have become anthological effectively, emitting heavy moral, social and ethnic significance but the author superficially passes alongside his own idea and does not give it attention and the time claimed by an artistic work.

Yet, where, in which films does our cinematographic production reach the condition, even if it is ephemeral, of uncovering hidden essence and revealing truths not known until then, the condition of the thing which "remains" in the image for it itself but which at the same time also means "something else?" In other words, where and when does the quality of our native films reach the vibration of poetry, the expressiveness through the plurality of senses or through a deep basic meaning? Only now is our cinematographic situation becoming nearly impossible to illustrate with entire works or portions of works: the "last supper" in the finale of "Forest of the Hanged," after the reflexes from the door of the carriage have made us uneasy in the same film, in the apostle's talk with Muller and the parable of the hanged? The entire film of "The Lucky Mill" on a theme advanced by the author himself in the emblem "money doesn't buy happiness"? "The Labyrinth" in "The Race," where the route of the heroes also means an implicit journey in myth? Or "Reconstitution," where the subject nearly episodically dilates by the end in an apolog which is not at all skimpy in significance? Of course, these are possible artistic hypostases and, yet, the critic--side by side with the spectator--cannot help but have a sensation of dissatisfaction and the conviction that for the time being we do not have film masterpieces and that these works still are an aspiration to be fulfilled, a goal to be achieved despite--or, on the contrary, on the path of--some positive symptoms. Actually, supporting this is to assert that we have very few artist directors or that the ones we have have not succeeded in showing themselves fully, with all vigor and value.

It always is unspeakably difficult to weigh the more or less variable share in art of the relationship between theory and practice when history has demonstrated that any aesthetic systematization occurs afterward and is proven following the finished artistic act, thus eliminating the possibility of releasing a standardized grammar or poetry called on to impose, to dictate

"methods," outlines, procedures, general solutions. Despite this, a criticism "of direction," a guideline is possible and sometimes even expected. Theoretically, the answer to the question of how to overcome naturalism, didacticism, explanational and illustrative, which is dominant in our films is the following: by making metaphorical, "revealing," poetic films in the sense of works of art. Of course, this recommendation is not convertible into practical handbooks, guides or manuals for learning the art of the film, pragmatic ones. So what should we do? The critics and aestheticians also have something to do.

For example, to improve their own theoretical education which is indispensable for overcoming a simple reviewing exercise in the direction of interpretive syntheses, studies and essays which evaluate more finely the arc of film phenomena, taking and limiting a specific problem, including adoption of a common critic's terminology appropriate for the goals sought. What has proven necessary among these is a systematic plea for fulfilling the film's artistic condition, encouraging, where and when they appear, the symbols of the author's film, that is, of the film worker capable not only of "translating," of transcribing a given scene into audiovisual images but to transform it creatively, sustaining it through a specific language, and impose the originality of view. We are bearing a very old (unresolved) task of Marxist theory and criticism, still continually due with regard to the analysis of the form of works of art assuming that we master with authority the one of content.

Thus, no critic could escape--with his investigative ability stimulated--the constructive thematic proposals in films like "The Owners" (worker self-administration in a plant), like "Hot Days" (rates of industrial production under the banner of the scientific-technical revolution), like "Philip the Good" (seeking a place in society in harmony with its ideals of purity), and many others. But, it is not enough to detach and emphasize only the background of ideas. It remains to have a unified study of the film's content in the very form, the very expression it carries, a task which our film people, cannot and must not avoid if they support enrichment and progress of the art of the film itself, together with that of the specialized researchers. I think it is appropriate that, alongside the reviews, we routinely establish other "models" for investigation and debate, too, with a more comprehensive opening of objective and other "ways of being" for the criticism as alternative to the still haunting effects of naturalism, illustrativism and moralizing didacticism.

I have attempted to present such an alternative here through an invitation to a metaphorical, poetic film or whatever you want to call it. Of course, there are others, perhaps more advantageous ones, just as my travel itself could be more thorough and corrected with other opinions. However, there is no doubt that Romanian filmology still has a lot to do.

BRIEFS

DEATH OF ACADEMICIAN--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health and the Academy of Medical Sciences announce the death, on 8 April 1980, of Academician Prof Dr Ion Emil Bruckner, director of the "Nicolae Gh. Lupu" Institute of Internal Medicine in Bucharest. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Apr 80 p 5]

DEATH OF AGRONOMIST--The leadership of the Ministry of Education and Instruction announces the death of Prof Dr Docent Iulian Dracea, member of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, eminent scientist, creator of the school of plant genetics and improvement in the Timisoara Agronomic Institute, whose rector and dean he was for almost two decades. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Apr 80 p 4]

CSO: 2700

WORK OF FEDERAL SOCIAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 13, 14 Mar 80 pp 390-394

[Operating procedure adopted by the Federal Social Council for International Relations on 28 February 1980 and signed by the chairman of the Council Milos Minic]

[Text] On the basis of Article 14, Paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Law on the Bases of the Social Councils and on Federal Social Councils (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 34, 1979), the Federal Social Council for International Relations, in a session on 28 February 1980, adopted the following

OPERATING PROCEDURE

Of the Federal Social Council for International Relations

I. Basic Provisions

Article 1

The Federal Social Council for International Relations (hereafter referred to as the "Council") shall perform the tasks set forth in the Law on the Bases of Social Councils and on Federal Social Councils (hereafter referred to as the "Law") in meetings.

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall perform their role through their delegates.

Article 2

Each participant in the proceedings of the Council shall have the right to propose that a particular matter be taken up in a meeting of the Council.

Bodies and agencies, organizations and communities which do not participate in the proceedings of the Council, and working people and citizens may initiate the consideration of a particular matter in a meeting of the Council through some participant in the proceedings of the Council or to the Council directly.

The proponent of a particular topic for a meeting of the Council must briefly define the content of the topic and state the case for it.

The coordinating committee of the Council shall examine the proposals and initiatives referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article and shall report its opinions to the Council concerning those proposals and initiatives.

The coordinating committee of the Council shall notify proponents of proposals and initiatives concerning the opinions and positions of the Council related to the proposals and initiatives it has considered.

Article 3

Participants in the proceedings of the Council shall designate their delegates as a function of the items which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council and shall be mindful of the appropriate continuity in consideration of the matters which have already been on the agenda of a meeting of the Council.

Every participant in the proceedings of the Council may designate as many as three delegates for a meeting of the Council unless the Council's coordinating committee specifies otherwise for a particular meeting.

Article 4

Consideration of the particular questions in a meeting of the Council shall as a rule be based on prior consultations in the appropriate organs or bodies of the participants in the proceedings of the Council, and, if necessary, provision shall be made for prior specialized and scientific preparation.

Article 5

The participants in the proceedings of the Council shall cooperate through the coordinating committee of the Council in order to prepare the meeting of the Council and to perform other tasks which make the proceedings of the Council more effective.

Article 6

The proceedings of the Council shall be public.

Article 7

The Council shall inform the public in an appropriate way concerning its program and the results of its work.

Article 8

Representatives of the press and other news media shall attend the meeting of the Council in order to inform the public about the work of the Council or about the matters which are under consideration in its meeting.

Article 9

The Council may issue a news release for the press and other news media on matters which have been taken up in closed session.

The Council may authorize the coordinating committee or chairman of the Council to approve the text of the news release.

After a meeting the chairman of the Council or individual whom he designates may meet with representatives of the news media who have been following the proceedings of the Council to provide them relevant clarifications.

Article 10

The Council's coordinating committee may decide that certain or all matters at a particular meeting of the Council be taken up in the absence of representatives of the press and other news media if this is required by the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests.

II. Programming the Council's Work

Article 11

The Council shall adopt an outline program of its work (hereafter referred to as the "work program") in order to perform its functions or the tasks for which it is competent.

In drafting its work program the Council shall take the proposals of participants in the proceedings of the Council as its points of departure.

Article 12

The Council's work program shall be adopted for a period of 1 year, but it may also be adopted for a longer period of time.

On the basis of the annual work program the coordinating committee of the Council may with the Council's consent establish the schedule for its performance or the order of priority for consideration of particular matters over shorter intervals of time.

Article 13

The work program shall specifically contain the following:

- 1) the topics or matters which the Council will take up in the period covered by the program;
- 2) those responsible for performance of specialized tasks to prepare the particular materials set forth in the work program;
- 3) approximate dates by which the particular matters will be taken up;
- 4) brief justification of the need to take up the particular topic.

On the recommendation of the coordinating committee the Council may also take up matters which have not been included in the Council's work program, but have been referred to the Council in the context of Article 2 of this operating procedure, if the participants in the proceedings of the Council judge that it is necessary to hold broader consultations on these matters in meetings of the Council and to state positions as a body.

Article 14

The draft of the Council's work program shall be delivered to all participants in the proceedings of the Council as well as to interested bodies, agencies and organizations for them to submit their opinions, proposals and suggestions.

On the basis of the opinions, proposals and suggestions the Council's coordinating committee shall adopt the proposed version of the work program of the Council.

The Council's work program shall be adopted in a meeting.

Article 15

Once the Council has adopted its work program, it shall be delivered to all participants in the proceedings of the Council and to interested bodies and agencies, organizations and communities, and, should the Council so decide, it may also be made public in a suitable manner.

III. Preparation of Meetings of the Council

Article 16

Matters shall be taken up in meetings of the Council on the basis of material previously prepared and delivered.

The proponent or initiator of deliberation of a particular matter in a meeting of the Council may when proposing that it be included in the work program assume the obligation to see that the necessary materials on this matter are prepared for the meeting of the Council or may recommend to the Council's coordinating committee the body or agency or organization which should prepare the material.

The prior preparation of materials should be organized in such a way that the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces can be apprised of them in good time as a function of their interest.

Article 17

When the Council deems it to be expedient, working bodies of the Council can be established to study and examine particular matters and prepare materials or opinions and proposals for a meeting of the Council.

As an exception, when the urgency of matters and tasks so requires, the coordinating committee of the Council may by resolve establish a working body as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, but it must so inform the Council in the next meeting.

The membership of the working bodies shall be established by the coordinating committee as a function of the nature of the task it is to perform, and it shall so inform the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

Representatives of scientific institutions and individual scientists and specialists may be enlisted for a working body of the Council.

Article 18

The material prepared for a meeting of the Council shall as a rule contain the principal matters on which opinions are to be exchanged in the meeting of the Council, a brief survey of the situation or the content of the question that has been put, proposals for relevant solutions to open questions of a fundamental nature along with supporting arguments, and possibly even in the form of alternative solutions, and a survey of the consequences which would follow from the various solutions.

The principal material for the meeting of the Council may be accompanied by more extensive documentation (the full text of a law, informative report, analysis, and so on) which can provide a better-rounded examination of the basic and open questions.

Article 19

Materials prepared for a meeting of the Council shall be delivered in the agreed number of copies to all participants in the proceedings of the Council for the purpose of prior consultations, this to be done 30 days before the date fixed for holding the meeting of the Council at which this material is to be taken up.

Before a meeting of the Council the participants in the proceedings of the Council shall submit brief written reports from their own meeting at which they have examined in advance the particular topics so that they can be sent in good time to all participants in the meeting of the Council.

When in the judgment of the coordinating committee it is necessary because of urgency to take relevant positions on some matter in the Council as soon as possible, the material may be delivered in a period shorter than the period stated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 20

So as to familiarize representatives of the news media in good time with matters being taken up in a meeting of the Council, the material shall be delivered to the Federal Secretariat for Information unless it is classified as material for internal use only (strictly confidential or the like).

Article 21

The proponent of the material or the body preparing the particular material for the meeting of the Council or the Council's coordinating committee, or the chairman of the Council, should they judge this important to protection of a particular public interest, shall establish the appropriate degree of its confidentiality.

In its meeting, before commencement of consideration of the material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the Council may again take up the evaluation of the level of confidentiality and change it.

Article 22

The agenda of the meeting of the Council shall be proposed by the chairman of the Council with respect to matters contained in the Council's work program which has been adopted, mindful of the tasks and dates set forth in the Council's work program. The chairman of the Council shall also propose the agenda with respect to proposals and initiatives of participants in the proceedings of the Council which are not envisaged by the Council's work program; in this case the chairman of the Council shall propose those matters for the agenda of the Council after prior consultation of the Council's coordinating committee.

Article 23

The meeting of the Council shall be convened by the chairman of the Council on his own initiative, on a motion of the coordinating committee of the Council or on the motion of one or more participants in the proceedings of the Council.

Article 24

Notice of the convening of a meeting of the Council shall be delivered to the participants in the proceedings of the Council and to the corresponding republic or provincial councils unless the relevant act in the socialist republic and socialist autonomous province provides otherwise.

Article 25

A summons to a meeting of the Council along with the materials prepared shall be delivered to the head of the working body of the Council which has prepared the material for the meeting of the Council, and, if the coordinating committee so decides, to members of the working body.

A summons to the meeting of the Council for participation in the proceedings of the Council on a particular matter shall also be delivered along with the materials prepared to the official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization when there are matters on the agenda which fall within the jurisdiction of the agency or organization which he heads.

Representatives of scientific and specialized organizations and communities which are not participants in the proceedings of the Council may also be summoned to a meeting, as may sociopolitical figures, scientists, specialists and public figures as individuals, who shall be designated by the coordinating committee of the Council after having obtained the opinion of the participants in the proceedings of the Council or by the chairman of the Council when so authorized by the coordinating committee.

IV. Meetings of the Council and Adoption of Opinions and Proposals in Meetings of the Council

Article 26

The Council may conduct business if the meeting is attended by delegates of a majority of the participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The meeting of the Council shall begin with adoption of the agenda.

On the motion of the chairman of the Council and as a function of the character of the topics which are on the agenda and other circumstances, before moving on to the agenda the Council shall as a rule establish the procedure and other circumstances important to optimum and effective work.

Article 27

In the meetings of the Council debates shall be conducted of all matters which are on the agenda, that is, opinions shall be expressed and proposals made to reconcile those opinions.

The opinions and proposals of the Council shall be adopted either as unified opinions and proposals or in the form of alternatives on the basis of the positions taken by the participants in the proceedings of the Council whose delegates attend the meeting of the Council as well as on the basis of the written opinions of the delegates of the participants in the proceedings of the Council who were prevented from attending the meeting.

If the Council finds that large differences in opinion have been expressed on particular matters, the Council may propose to the participants in the proceedings that they reexamine the matters in dispute or may recommend further mutual consultations.

Article 28

At the commencement of debate of each point of the agenda the proponent of that point of the agenda or individual who has submitted the material may furnish introductory remarks or additional clarifications of issues of a fundamental nature and of proposals on which the Council needs to take a position.

Article 29

The chairman of the Council is required to make known to those attending the meeting of the Council the content of the proposals and opinions related to the matters on the agenda of the meeting of the Council which have been submitted in writing before the meeting of the Council.

Article 30

Upon finding that there are no more speakers on a particular matter the chairman of the Council is required to take note whether opinions and proposals are unified or different opinions and proposals have been presented.

Article 31

Minutes shall be kept of proceedings in the meeting of the Council.

The minutes shall contain the following: the name of the person chairing the meeting, the names of those attending, the agenda of the meeting, the names of participants in debates, the length of the meeting and proposals and opinions of the Council adopted unless the Council or the Council's coordinating committee resolves that a specific report shall be prepared on this.

A delegate of a participant in the proceedings of the Council who has dissented on a particular matter may request that his opinion be entered in the minutes or report.

The minutes shall be delivered to all participants in the proceedings of the Council and shall be assumed verified if no one files an objection within 7 days.

The minutes to which significant objections as to content have been filed shall be verified by the coordinating committee.

The provisions of this article shall also be appropriately applied to meetings of the Council's coordinating committee.

Article 32

The report or conclusions or recommendation concerning opinions and proposals presented in the meeting of the Council shall be verified by the Council or the coordinating committee if the Council so authorizes it. The Council may also decide otherwise concerning the manner of verification.

Article 33

As a rule the course of the meeting of the Council shall be recorded on magnetic tape, or a stenographer shall make a transcript.

The magnetic tape or transcript of the meeting of the Council shall constitute an integral part of the minutes and shall be marked "unauthorized and unedited text--for internal use."

The Council or coordinating committee may decide to regard certain tapes or transcripts as confidential.

The magnetic tape or transcript shall be delivered to the bodies, agencies and organizations which participate in the proceedings of the Council, as well as to working bodies which will work to carry out the positions of the Council, no later than 5 days after the meeting of the Council.

The tape or transcript may be used more widely only on the basis of resolutions of the coordinating committee.

Article 34

The Council may hold joint meetings with other federal social councils when the coordinating committee of the Council so resolves, its point of departure being the need for a more comprehensive examination of the matters which are the subject of joint consideration.

Joint meetings shall be chaired alternately, according to an agreement, by the chairmen of the federal social councils.

V. Coordinating Committee

Article 35

As a rule the Council's coordinating committee shall be permanent in its membership and shall be made up of one delegate of each participant in the proceedings of the Council and the chairman of the Council.

The members of the Council's coordinating committee from the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces shall be designated by appropriate act of those sociopolitical communities.

Article 36

The coordinating committee of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) adopt the draft and proposed version of the work program of the Council;
- 2) verify proposals, opinions, reports and other materials if so authorized by resolve of the Council;
- 3) designate bodies, agencies and organizations whose participation should be assured in the meeting of the Council as a function of the matters which are on the agenda of the Council's meeting, in accordance with the criteria set forth by the Council;
- 4) verify minutes of meetings of the Council;
- 5) propose to the Council candidates for secretary of the Council;
- 6) establish the working bodies of the Council if the Council does not do so;
- 7) and also perform other tasks as authorized by the Council.

Article 37

The coordinating committee of the Council may in accordance with the work program of the Council engage particular scholars, specialists and public figures or scientific institutions for a learned treatment of particular matters to meet the needs of the Council.

Article 38

As an exception the coordinating committee of the Council, in accordance with the work program of the Council and consistent with a resolve of the Council, may propose that specific scholarly and specialized meetings be organized (learned conferences, round-tables, etc.) to take up particular matters.

The coordinating committee of the Council may recommend in cases when it is especially justified that a material incentive even be offered (participation in reimbursing the necessary expenses) for organizing learned meetings of professional and specialized associations or academic institutions (university schools, academies, institutes, etc.) on matters envisaged by the Council's work program.

The coordinating committee may resolve that an appropriate fee be contracted for with individuals or institutions for preparing or working up particular material.

Article 39

Joint meetings of coordinating committees convened and chaired by the chairmen of the federal social councils alternately according to agreement may be held to prepare a joint meeting of the federal social councils.

VI. Chairman of the Council

Article 40

Any participant in the proceedings of the Council may initiate election of the chairman of the Council.

The initiative for election of the chairman of the Council shall be delivered through the Council's coordinating committee to the coordinating commission of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia for personnel policy at the federal level, which shall confirm the proposal for election of the chairman of the Council and shall deliver it through the Council's coordinating committee to all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall be elected by the concurrence of all participants in the proceedings of the Council.

The order to elect a chairman of the Council shall be published in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

Article 41

The chairman of the Council shall perform the following functions:

- 1) convene the meetings of the Council;
- 2) propose the agenda of the meeting of the Council;
- 3) chair the meetings of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee,
- 4) see that the work program of the Council is carried out;
- 5) see that the resolutions of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee pertaining to the work of the Council are carried out;
- 6) see to implementation of the principle of public scrutiny of the proceedings of the Council.

The chairman of the Council shall also perform other tasks and functions entrusted to him by the Council or the Council's coordinating committee.

Should the chairman of the Council be incapacitated for a brief period, the tasks of the chairman of the Council shall be performed by one member of the coordinating committee whom that committee designates.

Article 42

The chairman of the Council may decide to summon to particular meetings of the Council's coordinating committee representatives of appropriate federal bodies and agencies, organizations and communities, heads of appropriate working bodies of the Council or other interested person as a function of the matters which are on the agenda of the meeting of the Council's coordinating committee.

Article 43

The chairman of the Council shall inform the Council's coordinating committee concerning individual petitions from working people and citizens sent to the Council or to the chairman of the Council which contain questions of principle in the domain of international relations.

Article 44

The chairman of the Council shall have the rights set forth by the Council in accordance with the Law on the Personal Incomes of Officials Elected or Appointed by the SFRY Assembly and Compensation for Personal Income of Delegates in the SFRY Assembly and the Social Compact on Bases and Scale for Alignment of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

VII. Secretary of the Council and Performance of Technical Tasks To Meet the Needs of the Council and Its Working Bodies

Article 45

The secretary of the Council shall be appointed by the Council on the recommendation of the Council's coordinating committee.

The decision on appointment of the secretary of the Council shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

Article 46

The secretary of the Council shall perform the following functions:

1) aid the chairman of the Council in organizing the work of the Council and of the Council's coordinating committee;

- 2) monitor and organize the work of the working bodies of the Council, and he may also participate in their work;
- 3) supervise the technical staff service of the Council and bear responsibility for its work;
- 4) assist the chairman of the Council in carrying out the work program of the Council and the resolutions of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee, in whose work he may participate;
- 5) see to enforcement of the Council's Operating Procedure;
- 6) and also perform other tasks by resolve of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee.

Article 47

The secretary of the Council shall act as controller with respect to disposition of funds approved for the work of the Council and shall be responsible for the lawful use of those funds.

Article 48

The secretary of the Council shall have the rights which by authority of the Council are set forth by the Council's coordinating committee in conformity with the Social Compact on Bases and Scale for Alignment of Personal Incomes and Other Benefits of Federal Officials.

Article 49

The technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the Council, the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council shall be performed by the technical staff service of the Council, which shall be a separate organizational unit within the framework of the General Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council.

The technical staff service of the Council shall perform analytical, technical and other tasks related to the following:

- i. preparation of the Council's work program;
- ii. preparation of the meetings of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee;
- iii. organizing meetings of the working bodies of the Council;
- iv. furnishing data, documentation and other information necessary to the work of the Council and the rendering of specialized opinion in the work of the working bodies of the Council and participation of specialists in the work of those working bodies;

v. the processing of material from the meeting of the Council and the Council's coordinating committee and the working bodies of the Council (minutes, reports, summaries, transcripts, etc.).

VIII. Transitional and Final Provision

Article 50

This operating procedure shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

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FEC SERVICE FOR DEFENSE PREPARATIONS GIVEN MORE STATUS

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 13, 14 Mar 80 pp 389-390

[Order of the Federal Executive Council (FEC) issued in Belgrade 6 March 1980 and signed by Vice Chairman Zvone Dragan: "Order on the Staff Service of the Federal Executive Council for Defense Preparations"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 216 of the Law on the Bases of the System of Government Administration and on the Federal Executive Council and Federal Administrative Agencies (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 23, 1978), the Federal Executive Council issues the following

ORDER

On the Staff Service of the Federal Executive Council for Defense Preparations

1. The Staff Service of the Federal Executive Council for Defense Preparations (hereafter referred to as the "Service"), which was established by the Order on Establishment of the Staff Service of the Federal Executive Council for Defense Preparations (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 60, 1971, and No 29, 1973), shall continue its work as an independent specialized staff service of the Federal Executive Council (hereafter referred to as the "Council"), with the status and sphere of activity set forth in this order.

2. The Service shall perform specialized and other tasks to meet the needs of the Council and its working bodies in the domain of defense preparations and social self-protection which pertain to the following:

1) drafting the proposed version of the Council's defense plan and plan in the domain of social self-protection and coordination of the relevant plans of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations with those plans and the planning and recommendation of the material resources necessary to carry out those plans;

2) following up implementation of the resolutions of the Council related to the established obligations of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and the Council's staff services;

3) preparation and organization of a system of communications for operation in wartime;

4) preparation and execution of the program for construction of facilities for protection;

5) drafting the proposed version of the program for training and fitting personnel in federal bodies and agencies and organizations for work on defense affairs and seeing that they are implemented;

6) drafting the proposed version of the regulation for carrying out the Council's defense preparations;

7) preparation and approval of the proposed version of war regulations within the Council's jurisdiction;

8) and other tasks and matters in the domain of defense preparations and social self-protection assigned it by the Council.

3. The Service shall perform specialized and other tasks pertaining to mobilization preparations of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations as ordered by the Council, as well as specialized and other tasks related to the mobilization preparations of other federal bodies and agencies and organizations and the organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal level, on the basis of an agreement between those bodies and organizations and the Council.

4. The Service shall have its own seal.

5. The work of the Service shall be supervised by the chief of the Service, who shall be accountable to the Council for his work and for performance of the tasks in the Service's sphere of activity.

With respect to supervision of the Service's work and decisions on establishing and terminating the employment relation of personnel in the Service, the chief of the Service shall have the rights and duties of an official heading a federal administrative agency.

6. Assistant chiefs of the Service may be appointed as supervisory personnel in the Service.

The duties and tasks to which assistant chiefs of the Service are assigned and the number of such assistant chiefs shall be set forth in the regulation on classification of tasks and functions in the Service.

7. The Council shall appoint and dismiss the chief and assistant chiefs of the Service.

The chief of the Service shall be appointed on the recommendation of the chairman of the Council, and the assistant chiefs of the Service on the recommendation of the chief of the Service after first having obtained the opinion of the competent body in the republic or autonomous province.

8. The chief of the Service, the assistant chiefs and personnel in the Service shall exercise their self-management rights in the work community of the Service in the manner set forth in the bylaws and other general self-management acts, in accordance with law.

9. Funds for operation of the Service shall be provided for in the federal budget.

10. Regulations which apply to federal administrative organizations shall govern the organization and operation of the Service with respect to the powers and responsibilities of the chief of the Service and also with respect to the rights, obligations and responsibilities of supervisory personnel and other personnel in the Service, unless federal law or other regulation provides otherwise.

11. The tasks and functions of the Service may be performed by active military personnel.

12. The chief of the Service is required to submit to the Council for its consent the regulation on organization and work and the regulation on classification of tasks and functions of the Service within a period of 3 months from the date when this order takes effect.

13. On the day when this order takes effect the Order on Establishment of the Staff Service of the Federal Executive Council for Mobilization Preparations (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 60, 1971, and No 29, 1973) shall cease to be valid.

14. This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

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PROFESSIONALISM, PRIVILEGES OF YOUTH OFFICIALS EXAMINED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1521, 2 Mar 80
pp 16-17

[Article by Milan Milosevic and Radisav Cuk: "Occupation: Official"]

[Text] More Than 650 Political Professionals Work in the Youth Organization. That Is Not a Large Number, But the Problem of Professionalization of the Leadership of Youth Organizations Is Important on Another Plane--Privileges Based on Status Distance Them From the Rank and File.

One cynical newsmen for a youth newspaper once suggested that compulsory classes in physical education be introduced for that small portion of each generation which spends its youth in meetings.

Dr Vasil Turpukovski, chairman of the Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia with a 1-year term of office, tried last week to shed light on the roots of this ironical (is it only ironical?) distance from which the rank and file of the youth organization looks at the leadership. At the plenum of the LCY Central Committee which was held last week it was not just his going to the rostrum in a gray knitted shirt (an older comrade later sent him a tie as a joke) that made his behavior unconventional: "What matters vitally to young people and their social and economic status are jobs, a place to live and a future. These problems do not arise for the official of the youth organization. We who hold those official positions get a place to live, a high salary, and our future is quite clear: recruitment to higher levels of leadership and other political structures."

Dr Turpukovski, incidentally, receives his salary at Skopje University ("I met only 60 percent of the classes scheduled, but I still have maintained continuity"--he was to say in an interview for NIN).

"We consider ourselves irreplaceable," he said from the rostrum, "and a strange situation is coming about in which we speak of the need to bring young new blood into the leadership of youth organizations...."

This topic was only one small pebble in the mosaic of youth topics in that debate. The only reason we are concerned with it is the fact that this paper has written quite a bit about the other problems of young people's existence and youth politics. This is not the main problem of young people, that is, but it certainly is one of the youth topics.

In his introductory address Stane Dolanc spoke about professionalization of the leadership of youth organizations: "Tendencies toward excessive professionalization of the leadership of youth organizations are all the more dangerous because they automatically mean personal incomes and other material advantages."

Individuals who participated in the debate also touched upon this problem (Milojko Drulovic: the number of professionals in the Socialist Youth League is more or less within the limits of what has been agreed, but the incomes of youth leaders surpass the limits of modesty; it is unnatural for leaders of youth organizations to be included in the social compact on remuneration of officials, which has, of course, brought about unjustified incomes).

Appointed and Elected Officeholders

The problem, then, is more qualitative than quantitative. In the various leadership bodies of the Youth League in Yugoslavia there were in January 1980 656 "appointed and elected officeholders." According to these records, there were in opstinas 548 youth officials, and the republic, provincial and federal leadership amounted to 108 youth officials.

Yet this is not all, we must also add the indispensable "staff." A republic analysis made previously stated that there were 384 persons employed in youth forums in Serbia: 157 were holders of elective office (151 according to the most recent figures), there were 35 so-called specialized political officials (newspaper editors, deputy commandants of youth work programs), and 192 administrative employees. That, then, is the size of the youth bureaucracy.

At the end of their term of office, it is thought by some, whatever advantages they have had over their contemporaries (an apartment and good salaries), they end up somewhat pathetic figures--they usually do not maintain continuity, they stop working in their profession, if they are students, they do not finish the university, they become jacks-of-all-trades, master of none.

The people in the republic conference of the Socialist Youth League of Serbia have made an analysis which shows, however, that the situation is not so tragic--officials who were in the past two administrations have by and large found very good employment. Some have returned to their original jobs, some have obtained scholarships, and many have obtained posts in opstinas, in trade unions, and in nationwide defense. One youth official who

was a worker until he took that position has completed a 6-month course of study in journalism and became director of a local radio station.

[Box on p 16]

Professional Youth Leaders

Bosnia-Hercegovina	107
Montenegro	16
Croatia	143
Macedonia	17
Slovenia	95
Serbia as a whole	253
Serbia proper	151
Kosovo	37
Vojvodina	65
Total	631
Presidium of the Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia	25
Grand total	656

Advancement Through Politics

When we look at the list, the topic of advancement through politics jumps out at one. The idea of this kind of advancement, incidentally, might even be more widespread among the public than it deserves. Vladimir Bakic, a sociologist of the Institute for Sociological Research, asked in a survey taken as part of a study on social mobility "What is regarded as most important for advancement in our society?" The highest number of respondents chose the answer—"work" (43 percent), one-third thought that education was decisive, and 18 percent of the respondents said—"sociopolitical activity."

Those who are--as it would be put in the usual pejorative description--catapulted to advantages brought them by their official position nevertheless do go through a sieve of mental and social pressures. Milivoje Jovanovic, skilled electrician (his workmates call him "the one who was a youth official in Belgrade"), says that at first he was ashamed to find that as a youth official he earned more than his former teacher in his trade, whom he happened to meet in Mitrovica. His earnings as an official amounted to about 1.3 million old dinars. Today he is one of those who have returned to their jobs in production, he is again living with his family, and he is earning half as much, about 600,000 dinars. He says that he is content: in the meantime he has obtained a larger apartment from his enterprise, and he is now being asked as a former youth official to become involved in sociopolitical organizations at the local level. His return to productive work, however, is still not definitive, not because he is a delegate to the sociopolitical chamber of the Serbian Assembly, but because he is going to school parttime and has chosen political science.

Another example from Zvezdara indicates a somewhat smaller loop-the-loop--Mladen Teodorovic, engineer and former chairman of the opstina Youth League Conference, has returned to his old firm Utenzilija. "Nevertheless," he said, "I did get a somewhat better job, in line, of course, with my qualifications, I am now an inspector."

As a rule young people who have held political positions have up to now had an easy time in finding a job in what are called the "specialized staff services," and there they remain near the entrance to professional politics. More and more frequently they see their future "in the rank and file," but, of course, this should not be taken literally.

"Many people also rush into politics in order to establish themselves as individuals. I feel, and there are examples that confirm it, that one can also establish himself in associated labor. Young people are offered a chance if they have new ideas, if they are ambitious," we were told by Djordje Malenkovic, Vojvodina delegate to the presidium of the Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, and he added: "We will see what I decide when my term expires, consultations are already under way, since I was elected to this position until this fall...."

In some judgments the youth organization "very readily undertook to introduce group leadership and responsibility," so that in fact "the professionalism that now exists will be reduced to a minimum" (Milojko Drulovic).

It has been proposed that an individual in the youth organization should be limited to two elective positions regardless at what level he is elected.

This, of course, is not the end. Professionalism does exist in politics and will exist so long as there is such a thing as politics. The same also probably goes for the youth organization.

Yet it should not be the main road for bringing young blood into political life, since this would be warped to become a system of privileges based on age. The opportunities lie in another direction: young people represent 34 percent of the membership of the League of Communists, yet there is talk about a sectarian attitude toward young people. There is a reluctance to show confidence in them. If young people feel that the road to political advancement is closed to them, if their opportunity for occupational advancement is poor (only 1.1 percent of leaders are young people), they will certainly use the channels for professional political advancement ... today in one leadership group, tomorrow in another, their names go on the list of regulars, and this is perpetuated.

However, what now dramatizes the problem is the fact that young people have up to now had objective incentives for accepting political positions in order to obtain those privileges of status which distanced them from their contemporaries. The president of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia says that even this administration of federal youth officials is living in

a residential hotel for unmarried people, so that they are able to speak more frankly and radically about the status privileges of officials. Until only yesterday, however, certain youth officials were obtaining apartments even when they had already left office. As a rule the apartment the official obtained during his term of office became his permanent property.

But all of this is probably only a part of the much more complicated story of professionalism in politics.

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